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ABSTRACT

When viewing the current status of psychology in terms of membership in international psychological associations, it appears that large parts of the world are grossly underrepresented, with only 4 psychologists per million in Asia and Africa compared to 424 per million in North America. Having originated in Western Europe and North America in the second half of the 19th century, psychology has been linked to the problems of Western industrialization and has spread with colonization. Seen not only as an ideological export to the Third World, psychology has been criticized for its use as a social instrument intended to focus on and preserve the status of the elite. The lack of a comparatively large number of new results from the research of colleagues in developing countries has led Western psychologists to pay little attention to their work. Western psychologists have been criticized for psychological generalizations that have neither cross-cultural or cross-social validity. In order to overcome this ethnocentrism, psychologists need to (1) take a closer look at the indigenous research of Third World psychologists, (2) develop advice in terms of social psychology and applied developmental psychology for dealing with Third World population problems, (3) develop research on psycho-cultural shock resulting from the disintegration of traditional social structures increasingly faced by developing countries, and (4) develop indigenous techniques and procedures for overcoming the psychological effects of massive modernization on developing nations. (LH)

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Matthias Petzold

DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY AND THE THIRD WOLRD - SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

(A paper for the Seventh Biennial Meetings of the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development, München, West Germany, July 31 - August 4, 1983)

1. Psychology in the world today

Before dealing with the relationship of psychology to and in the Third World it seems to be necessary to have a closer look at the international status of psychology. This has been analysed by Rosenzweig (1982) in a quantitative survey which investigated the situation of psychology of those 44 countries which are members of the International Union of Psychological Science (IUPS). The IUPS was founded in 1951 by Western countries and since then more and more psychological societies from developing countries have joined the IUPS (see table 1).

Table 1: (from Rosenzweig 1982, p. 122)
Dates of admission of National Psychological Societies to IUPS

Date	Country
1951	Belgium*, Brazil, Canada, Cuba, Denmark, German Federal Republic*, Finland, France*, Israel, Italy*, Japan, Netherlands*, Norway*, Spain, Sweden*, Switzerland*, United Kingdom*, United States*, Uruguay
1954	Yugoslavia
1957	Australia
1962	South Africa, Venezuela
1963	Czechoslovakia
1965	Philippines
1966	German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Mexico, Rumania
1969	Columbia, Iran
1972	Bulgaria, Hong Kong
1973	Korea
1974	Ireland
1976	Argentina, Panama
1979	Dominican Republic
1980	China

*Charter member of IUPS

It is obvious that from among the world's nations only 16 countries from the developing world have joined the IUPS, most of them having entered more recent years.

As to developmental psychology, the situation in the International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development is quite similar (see table 2).

SO 015 973

Table 2: Regions where members of ISSBD come from (data from Rauh & Lipsitt 1983)

Region	number of members
Europe	212
North America	255
Australia & Oceania	18
Latin America	11
Asia	42
Africa	2

As far as the developing world is concerned the situation in the ISSBD is even worse than in the IUPS because ISSBD members only come from 9 developing countries (Nigeria, Brasil, Chile, Columbia, Peru, Turkey, Indonesia, Malaya & Korea). Therefore, Rauh & Lipsitt conclude that "large parts of the world seem to be grossly underrepresented" (Rauh & Lipsitt 1983, p. 7). Rauh & Lipsitt look for reasons but only suggest problems of communication and finances. This does not seem to be an adequate explanation. The reasons are rather complicated and shall be examined in the following in an historical context.

First, however, it would appear to be useful to look at the relation of the population to psychologists in the world. If psychology is the science of human behavior and development it should have a rather strong relation to its subjects, man in all his varieties of culture and race. Rosenzweig (1982) has also analysed the relationship between psychology and the world's population. His data show very strikingly that modern psychology is a Western product limited to the Occidental world (see table 3).

Table 3: Numbers of psychologists in relation to population in world regions (data from Rosenzweig 1982, p. 128)

Region	1980 population (millions)	Estimated psychologists per million population
U.S.A., Canada	250	424
Western Europe	355	222
Australia, New Zealand	17	235
Latin America	375	120
Eastern Europe (not U.S.S.R.)	135	81
U.S.S.R.	270	7
Asia (not China)	1700	6
China	950	1
Africa	450	-
South Africa	28	37

If one adds up Rosenzweig's figures we can see that for a population of approximately 3,475,000,000 in Latin America, Asia and Africa (excluding South Africa) there are only 46,000 psychologists working in these countries. This is a ratio of 46 single psychologists to 3.5 million people.

Looking only at Asia and Africa the contrast is even sharper with only 12 psychologists for a population of 3.1 million, i.e. 4 psychologists per million. In comparison, the relationship in North America is 424 psychologists per million, and in Western Europe 222 psychologists per million. All in all, this means that in North America and Western Europe there are up to a hundred times more psychologists than in Asia and Africa.

This phenomenon is not a just contemporary one which will be outdated in the future because the world population is rising abruptly especially in these developing regions of Asia and Africa and there are no signs of a corresponding rise of psychology in these regions.

It is unsatisfactory just to look at these data without trying to give an evaluation. The fact that psychology has hardly any significance to and in the Third World needs a thorough historical investigation before one comes to discuss superficial "solutions" such as spreading this Western product "psychology" all over the world. Nor is it sufficient to refer to the problems of communications only (see Ardila 1982, Rauh & Lipsitt 1983) since the fundamental reasons are deeply rooted in the social and historical context of the development of psychology as a science.

2. Psychology as a Western discipline

Psychology as a modern scientific discipline originated in Western Europe and North America in the second half of the nineteenth century. The new discipline emerged out of Occidental philosophy and based itself on the experimental paradigm and modern science concepts of the turn of the century: Darwinism, atomism and mechanism.

The establishment of psychology as an academic discipline can only be understood in its historical science policy context: the Weltanschauung of the modern bourgeois society (see Jaeger & Staeuble 1978). Only the recognition of the bourgeois individual as a free and single being, as proposed since the Enlightenment in European philosophy, made it possible for a science to investigate intraindividual and interindividual differences. Only against the background of the conception of childhood as a distinct phase of human development and the necessity of schooling could a psychology of child and later general human development emerge.

This was only the background for the beginnings of academic psychology. The establishment of psychology as a profession took longer and is even more directly linked to the special needs of the modern industrialised bourgeois Western societies (see Thomae 1977). Psychological advice was first used on a broad scale for selection and evaluation in military training in the First World War. Psychological test procedures were later used on a large scale in standardised form in processes of education reform for the purpose of selection and promotion of the more gifted pupils. In recent decades psychology opened its biggest field of application in counseling and therapy thus dealing with clinical

problems highly related to modern social problems producing personality disorders.

As to the theoretical approaches and practical applications, psychology has developed into a manifold discipline in the Western world. It is, however, clearly linked to the problems of industrialised countries where it is now recognised as an important basic science as well as a valuable profession of considerable use in education and health care.

3. The spread of psychology in the world

Western psychology was spread over the globe within the last high tide of colonialism. The colonial powers not only exploited their colonies in terms of goods and resources but also alienated colonial peoples from their traditional cultures and social strcutures by bringing Western culture, traditions and social values into these countries resulting in fundamental processes of changing social structures and corresponding psychological roles (see Boesch 1966). This was especially the case with the Christianisation but also in a more broader sense with regard to the replacement of the indigenous traditional views on nature and mankind by the modern scientific Western world view (see Diallo & Hartnack 1981, Bloom 1982). Within this process, the individuum based scientific Western psychology was part of the propaganda for modern science to which the new intellectuals from the colonies listened eagerly.

Already at its beginnings, psychology had links to the developing countries. Colonial intellectuals oriented themselves towards Western science and studied in European and North American universities as early as in Wundt's laboratories in Leipzig where students from Japan, China and Latin America worked. They brought back psychology to their countries and for this reason we have small duplicates of Western psychology in the colonies, e.g. in India (see Ganguli 1971), Japan (see Kido 1961) and China (see Petzold 1983).

Western psychology was not only an ideological export to the Third World but it is still of use as a social instrument today. Vassaf (1982) has pointed out - based on his own experience as a test psychologist in Turkey - that the use of translated or badly adapted Western intelligence tests has its special social function in educational selection and promotion. Such tests, taken out of their Western cultural context are inadequate for scientific research. They are nevertheless used by the new elites, "to legitimize the position and access to opportunities of the ruling classes and justify class and other power differences on a supposedly scientific basis"(Vassaf 1982, p.45).

Psychology as it was developed in the early decades of this century in the developing countries was hardly more than a replication of some Western approaches. Such a psychology has not only failed to contribute to the development of these countries but has also failed to contribute to the scientific innovation of psychology in general. The lack of

a remarkable number of really new results from such a psychology should be seen as the basic reason why Western psychologists have paid no attention to the, admittedly, comparatively small amount of work done by their colleagues in the developing countries. This is a more fundamental reason giving an explanation for the lack of communication between Western psychologists and their colleagues from the Third World instead of simply stating that it exists.

On the other hand, it is necessary to question the attitudes Western psychologists have towards the Third World as has so accurately been pointed out by Jahoda (1973). He posed the question "Psychology and the developing countries: do they need each other?" and started with a criticism of two false assumptions made by Western psychologists:

"On the one hand, they (Western psychologists - M.P.) would reckon that psychology has done quite well for about a century without much contact with the non-European cultures; on the other hand, they would probably take it for granted that psychology has much to offer to the developing countries. In fact, both of these tacit beliefs are perhaps somewhat complacent and open to challenge"(Jahoda 1973, p. 461).

Jahoda's challenge focusses on the claim of the "universality of psychology" and stresses that psychology is not at all universal but a Euroamerican product which even there has been limited to a very specific group of samples: the college students who make up four-fifths of the subjects of psychological research. For this reason most of the psychological generalisations have neither cross-social nor cross-cultural validity and such a psychology is of hardly any use in different cultural and social settings, e.g. in the Third World. As to the use of modern psychology in the Third World, Jahoda concludes:

"Psychology is therefore doubly handicapped in trying to help them: first, as previously discussed, it is not at all clear which psychological principles would hold across widely different cultures and would therefore be useful for applied work; second, psychology cannot readily cope with the effects of social change in developed countries, and still less affect its course to any great extent. Yet, this is just what the developing countries are looking for" (Jahoda 1973, p. 466f).

Such a view on the state of psychology in the world is not yet shared by many Western psychologists because it would imply abandoning the current ethnocentrism of seeing the Euroamerican product of Western psychology as a universal science. There are only some paths to such a view among those psychology lecturers who deal with the education of psychology students coming from the Third World. Here, a discussion on the topics for an adequate curriculum has been started (see Giorgis & Helms 1978).

Another approach to overcome ethnocentrism of the kind mentioned is to have a closer look at the indigenous research in Third World psychology as it has been developing during the last decades. Since the independence of the

former colonies, many of these countries have taken up the threads of traditional culture and started original research with a critical view on corresponding Western research. This has been the case in some cross-cultural studies as well as in studies highly related to indigenous problems of education. Especially the latter have led to specific research on human development in the Third World which has not yet been recognised in the West. For example, there have been massive educational reforms in the People's Republic of China which made use of some Chinese psychological research on the child's cognitive and social development. Within this research Piagetian approaches were discussed and modified and developmental psychology was developed as a discipline with special orientation towards practical questions of school reform (see Petzold 1983).

Although examples are few and far between, such psychological research is worth being discussed in more detail in Western psychology so as to overcome Western limitations and strengthen communication in the world.

4. Problems and tasks for developmental psychology in the Third World

It is still too early to formulate a programme for psychological research in the Third World and this is a task which primarily has to be undertaken by psychologists from the developing countries themselves.

In the following, I would only like to point to some general problem areas which could be of significance for future developmental psychology in the Third World.

The developing nations face a great many problems which call for urgent solutions:

(1) Their population is exploding and urban migration results in huge agglomerations in the main capital areas. Population control is thus the first major problem of most of the developing countries. Such a programme needs psychological advice not only in terms of social psychology - which could only deal with the problem of population in a superficial way - but in terms of applied developmental psychology as well. Such questions have been raised in the People's Republic of China and with the help of the United Nations Chinese psychologists have started a programme on the one-child-family. The Chinese government's call for one-child-families as a tool to stop population growth will only be efficient if the parents have a certainty that their only child has the best educational chances. For this reason basic psychological investigations on the only child and educational reform have been started (see Jing Qicheng 1982).

(2) The disintegration of traditional social structures and social values has led to a psycho-cultural shock (see Azuma 1982) which needs basic psychological research on the changing identities, such as has been suggested by Boesch (1966, 1971) and will have to be investigated in more detail in these countries. In such research it will be worthwile to

examine the knowledge of psychical thinking inherent in traditional culture and indigenous popular psychological treatments which have been buried by colonialism (see Diallo & Hartnack 1981).

(3) The massive modernisation and industrialisation processes in these countries press for new educational structures. Psychological research will have to deal with problems of curriculum reform as well as with diagnosis, selection and promotion. Here, it is urgent to overcome the "mental massacre of the Third World" (Vassaf 1982) and to develop indigenous techniques and procedures.

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